

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
ICA-11 IO-13 /099 W  
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R 161659Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6052  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMCONSUL OPORTO POUCH  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA  
USMISSION USNATO  
DIA WASHDC  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER  
COMUSFORAZ LAJES FLD AZ  
USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS BEL  
USINT HAVANA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 4459

E.O 11652: XGDS-3  
TAGS: PINT AO PO  
SUBJECT: CDS VIEWS ON PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN POLICIES

REF: (A) LISBON 4193, (B) LISBON 4408

SUMMARY: CDS VICE PRESIDENT AMARAL DA COSTA OUTLINED CDS  
AND GOVERNMENT STRATEGY ON ANGOLA. GOP REJECTS USE OF  
CUBA AS AN INTERMEDIARY. BUT, GOP SAW NO BENEFIT TO  
PORTUGAL OR THE WEST IN PORTUGUESE PARTICIPATION IN  
PARIS CONFERENCE ON AFRICA. GOP HOPES TO TAKE ADVANTAGE  
OF PRESSURES ON ANGOLA TO SERVE AS THE WEST'S WINDOW  
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IN LUANDA. END SUMMARY.

1. DEBATE ON AFRICAN POLICY:

FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER MEDEIROS FERREIRA IN A JUNE 10  
"DIARIO DE NOTICIAS" ARTICLE CLAIMED THAT PORTUGAL'S FAILURE  
TO RECEIVE AN INVITATION TO THE PARIS CONFERENCE DEMON-

STRATED THE FAILURE OF GOP AFRICAN POLICIES (REF B). VICE PRESIDENT AND INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY OF THE GOVERNMENT'S COALITION PARTNER CENTER DEMOCRATIC PARTY ADELINO AMARO DA COSTA REPLIED IN A JUNE 15 ARTICLE THAT:

-- VANITY NOT ENOUGH: REASONS OF NATIONAL VANITY ARE NOT SUFFICIENT TO JUSTIFY PORTUGAL'S PARTICIPATION IN A MEETING OF COUNTRIES WHICH HELPED ZAIRE TO RESIST THE SHABA INVASION.  
-- WORKING TOWARD INTERLOCUTOR STATUS: PORTUGAL IS NOT YET, BUT HAS MADE RECENT STRIDES TOWARD BECOMING AN EFFECTIVE INTERLOCUTOR BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONIES.

-- ANGOLAN SIGNALS: THE ANGOLANS RECOGNIZE THAT THE PRESENCE OF CUBAN TROOPS LIMITS ANGOLAN FOREIGN POLICY. THE ANGOLANS CANNOT CONTROL CUBA AND THE WESTERN REACTION TO THE SHABA INVASION DEMONSTRATED THE NEGATIVE IMPLICATIONS OF CUBAN ACTIONS ON ANGOLAN FOREIGN POLICY. THE ARRIVAL OF THE ANGOLAN AMBASSADOR TO PORTUGAL AND THE INVITATION TO PORTUGUESE COMMERCE MINISTER (REF A) ARE SIGNS THAT ANGOLA WANTED TO STIMULATE ITS DIALOGUE WITH ONE WESTERN NATION - PORTUGAL - AS A REACTION TO THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON AFRICA.

## 2. CONFLICTING PRESSURES ON GOP:

IN JUNE 16 CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, AMARO DA COSTA SAID THERE WERE TWO CONFLICTING PRESSURES ON GOP AFRICAN POLICES:  
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-- MELO ANTUNES AND OTHERS WERE ARGUING THAT PORTUGAL MUST ACCEPT THE PERMANENT PRESENCE OF CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA AND CAN ONLY STRENGTHEN RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA BY STRENGTHENING RELATIONS WITH CUBA. AMARO DA COSTA SAID ANTUNES HAD SOUGHT TO CONVINCE PRESIDENT EANES TO MEET WITH FIDEL CASTRO DURING EANES' VISIT TO THE AMERICAS LAST MONTH. THE GOVERNMENT SUCCESSFULLY ARGUED AGAINST THE MEETING. THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL HAD INVITED CUBAN VICE PRESIDENT RODRIGUES TO VISIT PORTUGAL IN ANOTHER MOVE WHICH DISPLEASED THE GOP.  
-- ON THE OTHER HAND, MEDEIROS FERREIRA AND OTHERS WERE ARGUING FOR ACTIVE PORTUGUESE INVOLVEMENT IN THE TOUGHER WESTERN APPROACH TO AFRICA. SOME ON THE RIGHT WERE ARGUING FOR CLOSER GOVERNMENT IDENTIFICATION WITH UNITA AND THE FNLA.

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USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS BEL  
USINT HAVANA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 4459

3. PORTUGAL'S POLICY:

AMARO DA COSTA SAID THE GOP HOPES TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF INCREASED WESTERN PRESSURE ON AFRICA TO IMPROVE PORTUGUESE RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA. THE GOP REJECTED USE OF CUBA AS AN INTERMEDIARY TO ANGOLA, BUT ALSO SAW NO ADVANTAGE TO THE WEST OR TO PORTUGAL IN PORTUGUESE PARTICIPATION IN THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON AFRICA. CDS PRESIDENT FREITAS DO AMARAL IS CORRESPONDING PRIVATELY WITH UNITA LEADER SAVIMBI AND LESSER CDS FIGURES PLAN TO WRITE ARTICLES SUPPORTING UNITA. THESE INFORMAL LINKS WITH UNITA ARE BEING KEPT SECRET EVEN FROM THE SOCIALIST PARTY. THE GOP AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER WILL MAINTAIN ANGOLAN RELATIONS ON ABSOLUTELY CORRECT TERMS.  
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4. COMMENT:

THROUGHOUT DA COSTA'S EXPOSITION WAS THE IMPLICIT QUESTION, DID THE U.S. HAVE ANY PROBLEMS WITH THE GOP'S ANGOLAN POLICY.  
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